

## *Bankers and Financiers*



# Three Chapters of German-Jewish Banking History

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## Editorial Note

The three chapters given here are part of a larger manuscript of *Studies in the History of German Jews in Global Banking*. (Another chapter of the same manuscript, 'Lombards, Cahorsins and Jews', was published in the *Journal of European Economic History*, Rome, vol. 4, No. 2, Autumn 1975.) In this study the author seeks to show the uninterrupted process from the moneylenders and moneychangers of the Middle Ages via the Court Jews of the emerging national state to the modern bankers up to the time of Hitler, and the spreading, particularly since the end of the eighteenth century, of German-Jewish bankers to practically all countries of the globe. This "macro-economic" part, which deals with the group experience in German-Jewish history, is followed by a number of "micro-economic" histories of Jewish banking dynasties, to which the third chapter belongs.

The purpose of these Studies is to stimulate further research in this hitherto insufficiently explored chapter of Jewish economic and entrepreneurial history.

## A. The Age of the Court Jew

*In Memoriam Edgar Salin*

The question as to the original sources of capital of the Jews in the Middle Ages, and of its renewed accumulation after repeated confiscations was one which seemed to have greatly intrigued the late Professor Edgar Salin. He referred to it twice in recent years in his letters to the present writer. He complained that<sup>1</sup> . . .

"[We still lack] . . . an explanation of where the Jewish money which first permitted the rise of the non-Jewish capitalism actually came from."<sup>2</sup>

"In none of the literature on the economic history of the late Middle Ages, Sombart included, can one find an answer to the question as to the actual source of repeated renewal of Jewish capital. As soon as Jewish wealth is noted, confiscations, expulsions, *auto da fés* take place. What was the source of the capital of the early communities? Even assuming that a substantial part of it came from Byzantium, the question becomes the more difficult and urgent: from where, after all the confiscations at the same or other places, did the accumulation of capital, sufficiently big to make it interesting for princes and towns, to negotiate for loans, and to confiscate it thereafter, come."<sup>3</sup>

In the following pages, dedicated to the memory of Edgar Salin, an attempt is made to answer his question, at least in part.

## I. THE COURT JEWS

By the end of the sixteenth century Jewish wealth had become marginal. A powerful upper middle class had risen in the towns like Augsburg and Nuremberg whose political power impinged on that of the princes whose feudal rights

<sup>1</sup>Translated from the German original.

<sup>2</sup>Letter of 13th December 1973.

<sup>3</sup>Letter of 25th August 1973.

and prerogatives continued in the countryside only. The outstanding examples of this rising plutocracy were the Fuggers and the Welsers. "Fuggers" soon became a synonym for the large trading companies, and "fuggern" for usurious trading; it almost took the place of "Judaicare". But the Fuggers' was a short-lived glory. Anton (the "Great") Fugger's successors could not restrain the insatiable demands of the Habsburgs for loans, and the subsequent bankruptcies in Spain and the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries spelled the end of this house, just as the repudiation of debt by Edward III of England had caused the bankruptcy of the Peruzzis and Bardis in 1343/1344 and severely affected the once so strong position of the Lombards.

The Thirty Years War changed the economic and political structure which had prevailed at the end of the sixteenth century. The War – 1618–1648 – was disastrous for the citizens and yeomen. Few cities escaped major damage. But the material damage, great as it was, was not all. The civic corporations, the yeomen farmers' meetings – the "democratic institutions" of those days – were swept away, and the innumerable princelings re-established their absolute rule, confirmed under the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Now the country was ruled by 350 odd petty autocrats – secular and/or clerical – each with his little court attempting to vie with the splendour of Versailles. The "Grace of God", by which these princelings claimed to rule, did not, however, provide the considerable means required for the maintenance of court, administration and army, particularly not in their war-impooverished territories. They thus, as in the by-gone days, turned to the Jews. From the Emperor down to the pettiest "Serenissimus", each ruler had to have his Court Jew.<sup>4</sup> There was, actually, nothing new in this. There had been Jews employed in the past centuries by emperors, kings and princes as bankers, financial administrators and masters of the Mint, and not only in the German lands; but, as it is asserted, never before and nowhere else was the "Court Jew" officially part of the Establishment, and in such numbers. They were listed in the staff-lists, as for instance in the *Chur-Pfältzischer Staats- und Stands-Calendar, 1734, nebst einem Verzeichnis Aller Hohen Hof-Dignitäten*,<sup>5</sup> which lists under "Hoff-Factoren": seven Jews, down from Jud Michael May, Ober-Hoff- und Militz-Factor to those of lesser rank.

The Middle Ages was a period of protracted struggles for power, between Emperor and Pope, between Emperor and princes (Otto II had created the prince-bishoprics as a counter-weight to the tribal dukedoms) – between the

<sup>4</sup>Although a number of monographs had been published on some of the individual Court Jews, such as Oppenheimer, Wertheimer and the most dramatic figure among them, "Jud Süß", in the earlier years of this century, comprehensive studies appeared only in more recent years, i.e., Selma Stern, *The Court Jew*, Philadelphia 1950, and the monumental six volume opus of Heinrich Schnee on *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, Berlin 1953/1967. An excellent correctum to both these important contributions, both written somewhat *cum ira et studio*, one with a Jewish, the other with an anti-Jewish bias, was supplied by F. G. Carsten in his essay on *The Court Jews. A Prelude to Emancipation*, in *LBI Year Book III* (1958), pp. 140–156. It is noteworthy that in the *Propyläen Weltgeschichte* the volume *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus*, Berlin 1930?, of the Court Jews only Jud Süß is referred to briefly, but neither the institution of the Court Jews, nor the name "Hofjude" is mentioned therein.

<sup>5</sup>See illustration between pp. 196–197.

princes and the estates, the rising urban patricians and sometimes the proletarians and peasants. The Jews were deeply affected by these struggles. They got along well, on the whole, with emperors and princes, even those of the church with secular powers, such as in the bishoprics along the Rhine. Some of them protected the Jews out of broadmindedness, some for economic or fiscal reasons, for the wealth their commerce and their credit brought to the land, or the taxes they brought to the treasury.

It was this mixture of broadminded lack of anti-Jewish prejudice and of material self-interest which formed the basis of collaboration between ruler and Jew also in the years that followed the Thirty Years War. The attitude of the rising bourgeoisie was different. They saw the Jews as competitors, and tried to expel them from their cities, once they themselves were established in commerce. They re-admitted the Jews when they needed their credit, but expelled them again when their own capital accumulation had made them independent of Jewish funds. As in the case of Vienna in 1670, they promised the emperor compensation for the loss of taxes from the expelled Jews, but rarely paid up.

The Jews were equipped for the collaboration with the princes through two skills which their forefathers had acquired and developed in the Middle Ages: the ability to procure goods and services even if in short supply, and to provide the funds needed for acquiring them. The rulers of the newly risen "national" states were badly in need of both, and thus a new function for the Jew emerged in the establishment of these states, that of the Court Jew, the Royal Merchant Banker.

It was their marginal position in the money market, and possibly also a higher liquidity preference in anticipation of the difficult days ahead, which enabled the Jews to enter the period of the Thirty Years War in a more advantageous position than their more powerful competitors. The latter's claims on their princely debtors were frozen; their stores filled with valuable merchandise and their houses full of costly luxuries, often meant to be "stores of value", were ransacked; their landed estates, in which they had invested heavily, laid waste by the armies moving to and fro. The Jews with ready cash on hand were soon able to make themselves indispensable as suppliers of provisions for the armies, and thus enjoyed the protection of the war-lords, like Wallenstein. Restricted, as they had been for centuries, to trading in secondhand goods, they were thereby well equipped for the advantageous disposal of war-booty. Though the Jews, too, suffered from the deprivations of the war, they did so less than their neighbours, and many of them emerged from the war with their financial resources preserved or substantially increased. It was from their ranks that the Court Jews arose.

The student of Jewish economic history in the Middle Ages, and even thereafter, must be impressed by the remarkable power of economic recuperation which the Jewish communities and their individual members showed after arbitrary acts of the rulers, such as fiscal extortions, cancellation of claims or confiscation of their immobile property and expulsions. In the absence of documentary evidence we can only find some indirect explanation for this phenomenon.

The individual businessman seems to have followed a wise policy of spreading the risk. In his loan, say, to the King of Bavaria, he had his relative in Prague as a partner, and vice versa, he participated in the loan which his relative granted the King of Bohemia. And not all claims of this kind turned sour at one and the same time. Moreover, there was a traditional system of mutual help; individuals and communities in distress were helped by their brethren in happier circumstances till they were on their feet again. Also many apparently migrant beggars carried, hidden beneath their rags, bills and jewels for their principals to places of safety.

And one may wonder whether sometimes the silent non-Jewish partners of the Jews, often in elevated position, were not able to help their Jewish partner to recover, at least partly, his, and thereby their own property. Such action became more open in the eighteenth century when for instance the emperor pressed the Bavarian ruler to pay his debt to Wertheimer so that he could repay his aristocratic creditors. Thus, as Jacob Katz put it: "Notwithstanding the expulsions and ever-recurrent confiscations and impositions, a fund of capital remained and was handed down from generation to generation."<sup>6</sup> In any event, here is a wide field open for research and speculation.

The Court Jews, in the evolution of economic institutions, were no innovation. There was not much difference, as far as economic organisation and function is concerned, between them and their predecessors in the rise and progress of early capitalism, the Medicis and Fuggers whose place in the German economy they were now taking. What was different, however, was their status and their emergence as a "mass-phenomenon". This latter fact, indeed, was to result and to be reflected, at a later period, in the proliferation and prominence of Jews in the evolution of modern banking, not only in the German lands, but wherever the scions of the Court Jews went.

Their status resulted, in a way, from an adaptation of the institution of the "servus cameri", the *Kammerknecht*, of the feudal state to the concepts of the new absolutistic state, with its administration by professional officials and a standing army. The (Court) Jews who by virtue of the previously mentioned socio-economic circumstances had become the principal, if not the only, competitors for filling the manifold needs of the new state machinery – i.e., court, administration and army – had to be fitted into this machinery by titles indicating their function and position, sometimes accompanied by corresponding emoluments. These titles were manifold, and usually indicated a specific function. In the previously mentioned staff-list of the Chur-Pfaltz we find Hoff-factor, Cabinets-factor, Militz factor, Hoff-Crämer und Militz Livrant, and, on top, the Ober-Hoff und Militz factor. There were also the Masters of the Mint and other functionaries. As "Hoff befreite", i.e., freeman of the Court, they were exempt from municipal jurisdiction and the restrictions on lodging and dress in force for the rest of the Jewish population.

Selma Stern in her book on the Court Jew reviews his functions under the captions: "The Commissary; the Court-Contractor; the Financial Agent and Resident; the Cabinet Factor; the Commercial Agent; the Master of the Mint;

<sup>6</sup>Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, New York 1971, p. 47.

and the Shtadlan, the spokesman for the Jewish communities." Many of these positions were frequently held by one and the same person simultaneously.<sup>7</sup>

The first contacts which the Jews usually established with the authorities were as suppliers of food, fodder, horses and, more rarely, arms to the army, or of jewels to the courts, a business gradually extended to cover all the requirements, not only of luxuries like material for the outfitting of the princely household, but even of the larder and cellar.

The credits required not only for these ever-increasing supplies, not always easily available, but also for soldiers' pay, the cost of diplomatic missions, the purchase of higher princely ranks and crowns, soon exceeded the resources of the individual Court Jew. He had to rely on the cooperation of his "correspondents", his friends and relatives, who, scattered over a wide area, were able both to act as buyers of the supplies needed and as financiers. Some, like the greatest of them, the Imperial Oberhof Faktor Samuel Oppenheimer of Vienna, had silent partners in the ranks of the high aristocracy, who refrained from lending money directly to the emperor, but did not disdain doing so indirectly. To secure and repay these credits, the Jews obtained liens on specified state revenues, the taxes from selected provinces, or customs duties. They became Masters of the Mint, for which they procured the precious metals, and they were blamed for the deterioration of the coins, a popular measure by which some of the rulers, like Frederick the Great, financed their campaigns. The Jews obtained monopolies on the sale of tobacco and salt, sometimes resented by the population; persuaded or forced by the ruler, as in Prussia, they engaged in manufacture and, thus, became pioneers of industrial enterprise, from which non-Jewish capital still shied away. Through these activities the Jews became the financial advisers of the princes, always looking for new sources of revenue. In exceptional cases, they were appointed ministers of finance, which did not help their popularity with the overtaxed population. But they were engaged not only in fiscal but in diplomatic services as well. As "Residents" they served in their home-town as suppliers of information to some foreign government, much like honorary consuls in our days. And the purchase of Poland's crown for Saxony's king by Leffman Behrens is probably the most outstanding example of the "extra-curricular activities" in which the Court Jews were engaged. We find them reflected, in a later generation, in the services which the Rothschilds, Bleichröder and Cassel rendered to Disraeli, Bismarck and Churchill.

Like the merchant bankers in the nineteenth century who acted as issue-houses for more than one government, some of the Court Jews acted as bankers

<sup>7</sup>This acceptance into the hierarchy of the Jew – despised not so long before as a pariah – is indeed surprising. It was facilitated by a combination of political and intellectual developments. The estates, guilds, civic corporations who had used their influence to have the Jewish competitor kept down, if not eliminated altogether, had lost their power – at least temporarily – in the absolutistic state. And so did to a great extent "the only salvation promising church" since the Reformation. The princes who even in medieval times had, on the whole, been tolerant towards the Jews, if not pressed too hard by guilds and corporations into anti-Jewish measures, now imbued with the ideas of mercantilism and an incipient enlightenment, were keen to attract to their war-depopulated countries new manpower of a high economic development potential, regardless of their religion. The economic *raison d'état* was probably the over-riding consideration.



and/or suppliers "by appointment" to several ruling houses. Quite a number of these resided in Frankfurt a. Main.

In view of the often remarkable services these Court Jews rendered to their lords it is not surprising to see them often in positions not only of confidence but intimacy with them, enjoying unprecedented honours and privileges. But their elevated position meant also dangerous living. Samuel Oppenheimer's house in Vienna was not protected by his position from the mob bent on plunder, nor was he protected from bankruptcy through the malfeasance of the Imperial Treasury. The dramatic end on the gallows of his relative Jud Süß has become an often told drama. The Jew-hatred of the masses, the envy of Christian competitors, the resistance to change by those who had lost standing under the new régime – economic and political – were but contributing factors. Basically it was the ire of the population, overtaxed directly, or indirectly, as by inferior coinage, who saw in the Court Jew the cause of their misery: he it was who collected the taxes, and not the prince who spent them lavishly. The prince was not averse to being covered in this way by the Jew whom occasionally he could sacrifice as a scapegoat. He was in a luckier position than his "cousin" on the throne of France whom the same social tensions were to bring to the guillotine.

The story of the Court Jews ends, just as did the political framework within which they operated, the Absolute Régime, with the Napoleonic Wars. But the economic institution which they represented continued adjusting itself to the new needs of industrial capitalism. Modern banking, in fact, was largely based on this predecessor. Names like Eichthal (Munich, Paris), Arnstein and Eskeles (Vienna), Bleichröder (Berlin), Hirsch (Munich, Brussels), Kann (the Hague), Kaulla (Stuttgart), Rothschild (Frankfurt, London, Paris, Vienna, Naples) and Speyer (Frankfurt, New York, London) refer, indeed, to scions of Court Jews. These few names indicate that the Court Jews survived the age of courtly absolutism. With the change in the form of the régime his rank in the establishment became replaced by honorific titles; the *Hofjude* became *Hof-Bankier*, the *Resident* became *Consul*, and some became elevated to the nobility with a knighthood or barony.<sup>8</sup> Many Court Jews had used their position at Court to act also as spokesmen for the Jewish communities, over which they often presided – sometimes dictatorially in the style of the absolutistic age. They had used their wealth for the furtherance of Jewish learning. But their offspring were often lost to the Jewish community by conversion and by intermarriage with the German and other nobility. If anything, this was the tragedy of the Court Jew.

The family pattern of the Court Jew deserves special attention. They wanted their children to marry the offspring of learned fathers, but seem to have been equally eager to establish family ties with their business friends. Thus the leading houses of Court Jews, the Gumperts, Leffmann, Lehmann, Liemann, Oppen-

<sup>8</sup>It is wrong, in our opinion, to see, as Selma Stern does (*op. cit.*, p. 267), in "the life and death of the Court Jew . . . a symbolic significance for the fate of the Jew in all ages . . .", because the Court Jew (except for a few cases like Jew Süß) did not die, but adjusted himself to a changing world. His history was not a closed chapter, but a passing phase. What is true, however, is that many of the offspring of the Court Jews ceased to be Jewish.



**Chur, Pfälzischer  
Staats-  
und  
Stand's-Calender  
Auf das gemeine Jahr**

1734

Nebst einem Verzeichniß  
Aller hohen Hof-Digni-  
täten

**Chur, Pfälzischen  
Dicaftern.**

*Cum Privilegio Electorali speciali.*

Zu finden bey Jacob Simon, Univer-  
sitäts-Buch-Händler in Heidelberg.

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**Hoff-Bibliothecarius.**

Herr Johann Wilsch.

Herr Franciscus Alefs, Adjunctus.

Herr **Hoff-Kriegs-Auditor.**  
Flender.

**Hoff-Mahlere.**

Herr Johann Philipp von der Eschiken / Ca-  
binets-Maler.

**Hoff-Ballet-Director.**

Herr Paul de Floris.

**Hoff-Tanzmeister.**

Herr Sebastianus Scio.

**Hoff-Ballhaus-Director.**

Herr Johann Wilhelm Vils.

Herr Friedrich Sozer.

**Hoff-Statuarius.**

**Hoff-Jubelierer.**

Herr Johann Hartmann Korb.

**Hoff-Gold-Arbeiter.**

**Hoff-Bildhauer.**

Herr Christian Korb.

**Hoff-Uhrmacher.**

Herr Franciscus Busat.

**Hoff-Seidenstücker.**

Herr Daniel Klein.

Couriere.

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**Hoff-Capläne.**

Herr Jacobus Bernardus Bellen.

Herr Johann Jacob Binner.

Herr Christianus Heinrich Hergher.

Herr Johann Jacob Hebr.

Herr Johann Dietrich Linden.

Herr Henricus Trippelues, Ceremoniarus.

Herr Joseph Weibel.

**Capell-Priester.**

Herr Carolus Philippus Linnenborn.

**Capell-Diener.**

Johann Weiskner Fröschel / mit zwey Acolythen

**Hoff-Medici.**

Herr Philippus Ludewig Limberg.

Herr Johann Conrad Möller.

Herr Wilhelm Bernard Reibel.

Herr Heinrich Einheim.

Herr Johann Christoph Zehner.

**Hoff-Apotheker.**

Herr Ferdinand Bader.

**Hoff-Balbirer.**

Herr Johann Ehrenreich / Hoff-Bahn-Arzt.

Herr Johann Arnold Engel.

Herr Johann Georg Noack.

Herr Georg Philipp Wilsheim.

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**Couriere.**

Herr Zacharias Hermanns.

Herr Matthias Niemann.

Herr Simon Seiberger.

Herr Wilhelm Tammeler.

**Hoff-Factoren.**

Jud Michael May, Ober-Hoff- und Militz-  
Factor.

Jud Jacob Altmann / Hoff-Cammer- und Mi-  
litz Livrant.

Jud Emanuel Meyer, Cabinets-Factor.

Jud Wolf Wertheimer / Hoff-Factor.

Jud Mary und Moyles, Schiefinger.

Jud Samuel Levi.

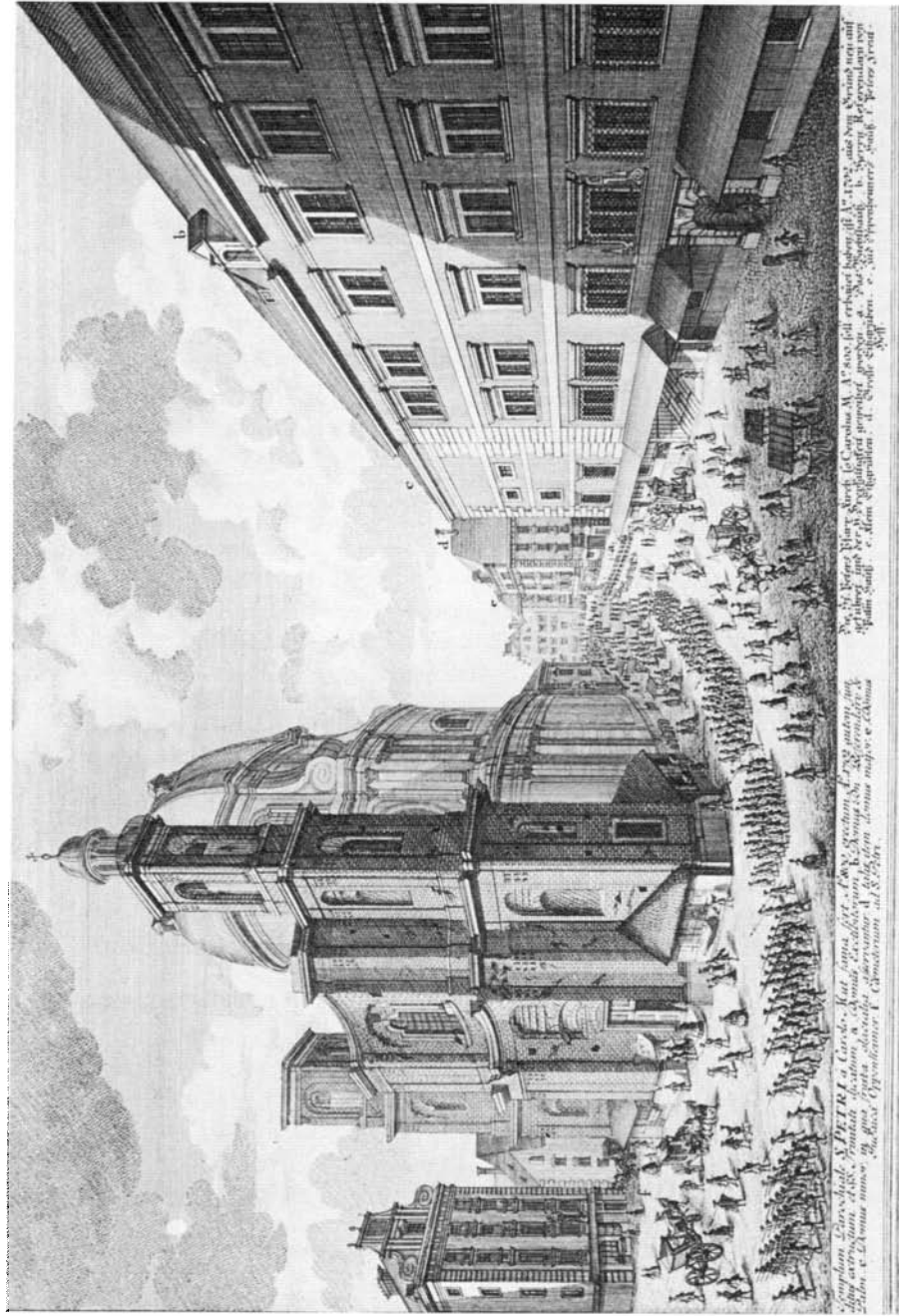
Jud Moyles David Oppenheimer / Hoff-Factor

und Garde meubles Livrant.

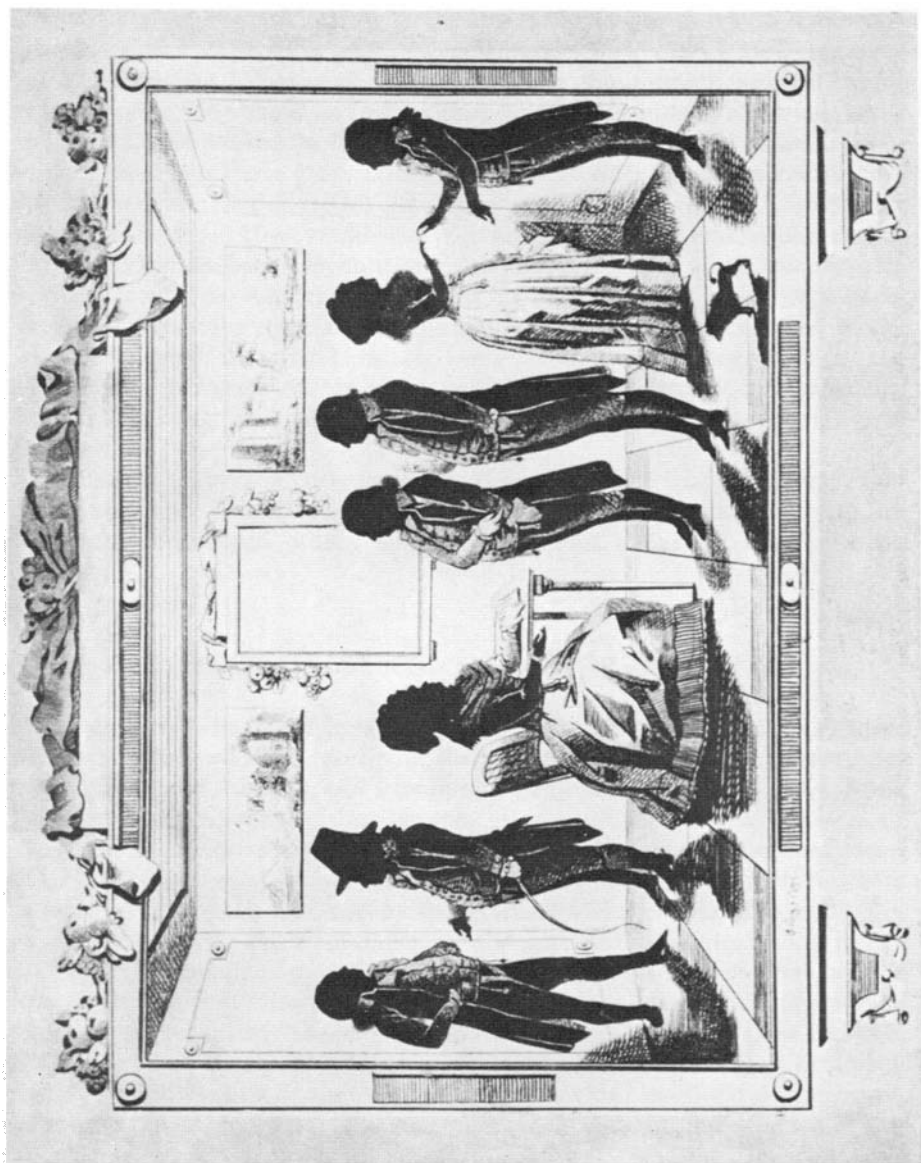
Unter diesen Stab gehören auch alle andere  
Hoff-befreyete Personen.

Obrist

Steel engraving showing Samuel Oppenheimer's mansion in Vienna



The Kaula family, Stuttgart  
Etching by Goog, 1795







heimer, Wertheimer, Hirschel, Michael, Geldern, Reinganum, Beer, Drach, Kann, Wulff, Itzig, Ephraim and David were all related in one way or another. They came from Berlin, Breslau, Brunswick, Dessau, Dresden, Frankfurt, Hanover, Leipzig, Vienna and many other German principalities.<sup>9</sup> These family ties were reflected in their business organisation, as shown in that of the biggest operator of his time, Samuel Oppenheimer in Vienna.<sup>10</sup> In Vienna, his son Emanuel was his general representative in the Empire, assisted by his nephew Samson Wertheimer. In Frankfurt his two sons-in-law, Emanuel Drach and Loeb Dentz worked for him as well as his grandson Moses Samuel Oppenheimer, his cousin Hertz Oppenheimer, and the Resident Aron Beer. Others in the clan were: in Heidelberg his brother Moses, the Court Agent of the Elector of the Palatinate; in Hanover his son Wolf and his relative Leffman Behrens; in Italy his grandson Loeb Oppenheimer; and in Amsterdam and Cleve his relatives the Gumperts. Also connected with his business transactions were Loew Sinzheim, Court Purveyor of the Elector of Mayence; Moyses Isaac, Court Jew of Bamberg; Lazarus Hirschel, Imperial Court Purveyor, Vienna; the Models, Court Agents of Anspach; and his most important correspondent, Samuel Ullmann, Court Purveyor of Bavaria, residing in the Free City of Augsburg.

This family pattern repeats itself *mutatis mutandis* later with the Five Frankfurters and other Frankfurt houses, spread over the continent and overseas, by the Bischofftheims and others, apparently without a parallel in non-Jewish banking.

## II. SOME QUESTIONS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

In his essay on 'The Court Jews' F. L. Carsten<sup>11</sup> poses the question why there were no Court Jews before and after the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany (and Austria), and why in no other country did they, as a distinctive group, play a similar distinctive role.

Another who views the Court Jew as a unique German phenomenon seems to be H. K.[ellenbenz] who in his article in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*<sup>12</sup> sees them as a feature limited in time and location (which includes Poland as well). But in another article in this *Encyclopedia*<sup>13</sup> the same author recites an impressive list of Jews in Christian Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who as *Almoxarifes* (revenue collectors), treasurers, controllers over bailiffs and supervisors of tax farmers were apparently no less "Court Jews" than their brethren in Germany in a later period. They were, like the latter, part of the "Establishment". And it was in a Spain torn by wars and divided by disparate kingdoms, with some resemblance to Germany after 1648 with its multitude of petty

<sup>9</sup>Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup>H. K[ellenbenz], Article: 'Court Jews', *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1972.

<sup>13</sup>*Idem*, Article: 'Banking and Bankers', *ibid.*

sovereignties. H. Beinart,<sup>14</sup> therefore, with some justification, speaks in an essay of "the Features of the Court Jews in Christian Spain", who, we believe, had their antecedents in Moorish Cordova.

And in the seventeenth century, Egypt, according to Manasseh ben Israel (1656), every viceroy had his Jewish Zaraf bashi (treasurer), apparently a permanent feature of the Establishment.

The question, therefore, arises as to what the features are which entitle us to designate certain individuals or groups as Court Jews, which political, social and economic conditions favoured their rise and fall.

As Hans Liebeschütz,<sup>15</sup> referring to the Court Jews, put it most recently: "The age of Absolutism with its increasing interest in military power and monarchical representation found it necessary to produce economic growth with forces outside the conventional framework. In this way the *avant-garde* of the outsiders obtained a special function in their German environment." Thus, according to this definition, the Court Jews were an instrument in the pursuit of economic aims of the absolutistic state, i.e., of the Mercantilist system. They were a substitute, they filled a gap created by the retarded rise in Germany after the Thirty Years War of an actively enterprising bourgeoisie capable of linking Central Europe with the expansion of the economy in the West.<sup>16</sup> But the privileged position which the Court Jews thus enjoyed was not a unique one in German economic history. In the tenth century when the terms Jew and merchant were practically synonymous, they were a privileged class. And, as Pirenne<sup>17</sup> states: "The merchant . . . seems to have been not only a freeman, but a privileged man to boot. Like the cleric and the noble, he enjoyed a life of exception. Like them he escaped the demesne and seignorial authority which continued to bear down upon the peasants." In fact, in the charter given by Emperor Otto I to the town of Magdeburg in 965 the Jews were placed even before the Christian merchants. And in 1084 Bishop Rüdiger of Speyer tried to attract the Jews to his town by offering them a secure quarter and ample economic privileges, "for the major glory" of his town, i.e., for its economic importance as a commercial centre.

These privileges, thus, were early "mercantilistic" measures for furthering this first process of urbanisation. But barely a century later the Jewish share in long-distance trade, hitherto a near-monopoly, had become marginal. The Gentile burghers of the towns the Jews had helped to develop into commercial centres had taken their place in the trade with commodities and left them the trade with money – though for the time being only.

Just as previously in the long-distance trade, so now in the money trade, i.e., as providers of credit, the Jews had become indispensable for the economic development, for trade and treasury alike. While condemned by the church

<sup>14</sup>H. Beinart, in *Élites and Leading Groups* (in Hebrew), Historical Society of Israel, Jerusalem 1966.

<sup>15</sup>Hans Liebeschütz, 'The Relevance of the Middle Ages for the Understanding of Contemporary Jewish History', in *LBI Year Book XVIII* (1973), p. 22.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, Princeton 1969, p. 129.

and the scholastic school as usurers, they enjoyed, though only temporarily, the protection of the emperor. The struggle between Sacerdotum and Imperium from the eleventh century onward seems to have had its bearing also on the position of the Jews, as did the subsequent struggle for power between the emperor and the rising corporations and local lords. It was under the strong emperors, Frederick Barbarossa (1132–1190) and Frederic II (1212–1250), that a new system was devised, meant for the protection of the Jews as a privileged group of *Kammerknechte*, servants of the Treasury. “Mercantilistic” too, in intent this measure made the Jews, like in the previous privileges, exempt from any local jurisdiction and subject to the imperial court only. This institution of the *Kammerknecht*, not yet sufficiently explored, seems to have had in its original concept some connotation of civil service, as it provided the imperial chamber with a personnel of undivided loyalties, able to perform the tasks required by the imperial treasury. Only under the weaker successors of these emperors did this system deteriorate into an oppression rather than a protective privilege, when local lords or free cities acquired by grant or by purchase the right to hold Jews as servants of their treasury.

These strong emperors, incidentally, attempted to achieve, and temporarily succeeded in achieving that strong, centralised régime, unhampered by the vested interests of the church, local lords, cities and corporations which marked the political system in the age of Absolutism five centuries later.

It thus seems that in space, as well as in time, in German economic and political history, situations and conditions existed, not unlike those which produced the Age of the Court Jews. The uniqueness of this period, claimed, as we saw, by some authors, thus seems to have been a consequence of the numbers involved, of the quantity rather than the quality of their achievements.



## B. The Jewish Contribution to the Evolution of American Banking

### I

"The history of the Jewish migratory movements – as H. A. Shulvas claims – has not been fully explored in Jewish historiography."<sup>1</sup>

The validity of this claim is proven, for instance, by the many lacunae in the history of the migration of Jews from German lands to the United States, its impact on the American economy and its various branches, such as banking, a subject to which the following pages are devoted.

C. C. Aronsfeld in his impressive essay on 'German Jews in Victorian England'<sup>2</sup> makes the important observation that most of the Jewish immigrants to England from Germany "hailed from Northern Germany, Hamburg, Hanover, and Cologne, also from Berlin and what was then the Grand Duchy of Posen (now Western Poland). By contrast, Jewish emigrants from Southern Germany, especially Bavaria, usually chose the U.S.A., the watershed being the city of Frankfurt. It is probable that proportionately as many Frankfurt Jews went to England as to America."<sup>3</sup> Between these two migratory movements there were, however, considerable differences in quantity, in quality and motivation.

As Aronsfeld states, between 1830 and 1930 no more than 250,000 Jews are believed to have left Germany. Those who went to Britain never exceeded a few thousand, the vast majority settling in America.<sup>4</sup> In this respect Jewish migration followed the general German pattern. Of a total of 2,635,819 *Auslandsdeutsche*, i.e., natives of the German lands united in the *Reich* living abroad in 1910, 2,501,333 were settled in the United States, but only 56,476 in the United Kingdom and Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

From Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria an endless stream of emigrants started flowing to the United States in 1816/1817. The "epidemic of emigration"<sup>6</sup> reached its highest figure during the years 1820–1845 in Southern Germany, while Prussia and Saxony registered a net immigration over the period 1824–1848.

It was a mass flight from poverty to a new Promised Land, a poverty of small peasants and landless farm workers brought about by an inheritance law permitting the unrestricted divisibility of land, over-population and years of crop failure and aggravated by heavy taxation, political dissatisfaction and severe

<sup>1</sup>H. A. Shulvas, *From East to West*, Detroit 1971.

<sup>2</sup>C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *LBI Year Book VII* (1962), pp. 312–329.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 313. Recently attention has been drawn to this observation by Vivian D. Lipman in her essay on 'The Anglo-Jewish Community in Victorian Britain' (p. 167, n. 28), in *Studies in the Cultural Life of the Jews in England*, Jerusalem 1975.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup>*Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Jena 1924, vol. II, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup>M. Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816–1883*, Cambridge 1964.

restriction on marriages. The Jews living in these parts were largely "primitive village Jews" (*Dorffjuden*) who in addition to the plight of the general population suffered from their special civic disabilities. No wonder then that they too, particularly the young ones among them, joined the stream of emigrants.

While it was, thus, the pressure of the economic and political conditions in their homelands which prompted these *Dorffjuden* to emigrate, it was the attraction of the City of London, the financial centre of the world, and the rising industrial centres like Manchester, Bradford and Birmingham with their new opportunities, which drew the gifted and adventurous, on the whole well-educated sons of a Jewish "settled" middle class. Antisemitism, if at all, was a very minor factor in their decision to go and settle abroad. But it became a motivation, especially for some academics, in the second half of the century in the declining years of the Age of Liberalism, when the pressures gradually equalled, if not outweighed, the considerations of a more attractive future, particularly during the two decades of depression following the boom of the early seventies.

By contrast, the success of the South-German Jewish emigrant made the United States an enticing destination which exercised a strong pull, outweighing often the greatly improved economic and political conditions at home. But the following waves of immigration do not seem to have had the same creative impact on the American economy as did their predecessors in the earlier decades of the century. It is largely on these latter that our attention will be focussed in the following pages.

## II

The story of the Jewish contribution to the evolution of commercial banking in the United States has so far remained unwritten. It was largely the story of "America's colonial merchants (who) had combined the roles of importers, exporters, bankers, middlemen and shopkeepers."<sup>7</sup> A respectable number of these merchants had come from Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century. Some had set out as pedlars in the Middle West and the Wild West, and found it the Golden West. Some were to sire Macy's and Gimbel's, others found themselves in Wall Street. The stories of these families have been recorded in memoirs and re-written in books, such as *Our Crowd*. But little is known about the legion of others who did not make their way to Wall Street, but sold out and retired or lost, in the failure of their banks, the fortune they had previously made. Only a few of these stories have been told, such as the one of the Spiegelbergs of New Mexico, 1844-1890, originally from Frankfurt, who had set up a merchandising firm in Santa Fe and eventually the Second National Bank of New Mexico,<sup>8</sup> or of the "banking empire" which Samuel Hermann, coming from Rödelheim

<sup>7</sup>M. Friedman, *Pilgrims in a New Land*, Philadelphia 1948, p. 280.

<sup>8</sup>Floyd S. Fierman, *Merchant Bankers of Early Santa Fe*, Southwestern Studies, No. 4, Texas Western College, El Paso 1964.

near Frankfurt, had built and lost in New Orleans,<sup>9</sup> or of F. Strong, the founder of the Bank of Louisville, Kentucky.

And there was the merchandising enterprise of the Jacobs brothers in Tucson, Arizona, first established as a kind of branch of their father's, Mark J. Jacobs's business in San Francisco in 1867. (He was born in Poland (Posen?) in 1814, went to Prussia and England before following, in 1851, the gold-rush to California.) By 1879 its ancillary exchange operations had become sufficiently profitable to justify its separation from the commodity trade as the Pima County Bank, Tucson's first banking institution. By a series of mergers and consolidations it had become in 1935 the Valley National Bank, controlled and directed till that time by members of the Jacobs family.<sup>10</sup>

On the whole, it was the General Store in the rising little towns of the American Mid-West and South of the mid-nineteenth century, frequently owned by Jews of German origin or descent, which provided the modest banking services of the population of the rural hinterland, and frequently these banking departments of general stores were eventually converted into the early commercial banks.

In Glasgow (County of Barren, Kentucky), the general store of "Squire Frederick Morris" engaged in banking in the 1850s, as his grandson, Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* tells us.<sup>11</sup> Morris's parents had come from Prussia and Bavaria to Louisiana, which he had left as a lad of eighteen for Southern Kentucky, with a pedlar's pack on his back. While others of his compatriots, after a similar career, eventually arrived in Wall Street, Morris became a wealthy landowner in the South, but was ruined by the consequences of the Civil War. His story is probably only one of many which together form the early history of American commercial banking.<sup>12</sup>

Numerous as these local banks must have been which Jews set up in the South and West, only a few remained in the founder families' hands by the turn of the century. And with them shrunk the Jewish share in commercial banking.<sup>13</sup> The *Grossbanken* had taken over also here.

From Frankfurt, too, had come some such well-known figures in American banking and finance as George Blumenthal (1858–1941), Felix Fuld (1869–?) and Paul Baerwald (1871–1961), the latter not only prominent as a partner in Lazard Bros. but as a Jewish community leader. Before them Gustav Speyer in New York (b. 1845) and Jacob H. Schiff (1847–1920) had started making their mark in Wall Street.

<sup>9</sup>Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans*, Philadelphia 1969.

<sup>10</sup>Gerald Stanley, 'Merchandising in the South-West', *American Jewish Archives*, XXIII/i (April 1971).

<sup>11</sup>Arthur Krock, *Memoirs*, New York 1968, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>In a recent issue of the *American Jewish Archives*, November 1973, we learn of David Mayer of Atlanta (p. 131), a confederate Civil War hero and banker who was one of those responsible for the establishment of the Atlanta Board of Education in 1872, and of Edmund Wells, lawyer, farmer and banker (p. 164) who in 1891 became Assistant Justice at Arizona's US District Court and a candidate for the governorship.

<sup>13</sup>According to Rufus Learsy's sources (*The Jews in America*, New York 1954, p. 294) of the 93,000 directors and executives in 1935 of US commercial banks, a mere 600 were Jewish.

From Eppelsheim came the Greenebaum brothers, Eliaz (1822–1919), Michael (1824–1894) and Henry (1833–1914), bankers in Chicago, and from Darmstadt, Benjamin Altheimer (1850–1938), a banker in St. Louis.

Most impressive, however, is the story of Isaias W. Hellman (1842–1920)<sup>14</sup> who had come from Reckendorf in 1859. Opening a dry-goods store in 1865, he soon provided banking services, the first in Los Angeles, in a corner of his store. In 1868 he formed with partners the Bank Hellman, Temple & Co. which in 1871 was converted into the Farmers & Merchant Bank (in 1956 it was sold by the family to the Security National Bank of Los Angeles). In 1890 Hellman, by now a recognised civic and economic leader, was invited to head The Nevada Bank at San Francisco, which later on merged with the noted Wells Fargo Bank, of which Hellman became president. It is still principally owned by his descendants.

On leaving Los Angeles, he entrusted his brother Herman (1843–1909) with the Farmers & Merchant Bank, which, however, the latter left after disagreements with his brother and bought the Commercial Trust & Savings Bank. In 1906 his sons Marc and Irving changed its name to Hellman Bank, which had thirty-three branches till 1930, when during the Great Depression it had to sell out to the Bank of Italy, now the Bank of America.

Other banking pioneers in Southern California were Lewis Jacobs, who started a bank in San Bernadino as early as 1858, and Achilles Levy (1853–1922)<sup>15</sup> of Mommenheim in Alsace, a dealer in produce whose “Bank of A. Levy”, now managed by his descendants, had sixteen branches in the Ventura County. The Union Bank of California was founded by Kaspere Cohen in 1914. Also in Fresno, San Luis Obispo, San Diego (Baer & Lucien Blochman) and elsewhere Jews were prominent in the development of commercial banking.

From Bavaria came Ephraim Hart (1747–1825), who served on the council of New York’s young stock-exchange and the New York State senate, and from Bittenhausen Nathan Hofheimer (1848–1920). The legendary Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), though American born, was the son of a doctor from Schwersenz in Posen.

These now partly forgotten names constitute a selection only from the great number of German-Jewish immigrants who had contributed to the growth of American commercial banking. Many of them had come with the same wave of immigration which had brought to New York “Our Crowd”,<sup>16</sup> the “Business Élite” of German-Jewish financiers in the last century.<sup>17</sup> Most of them, as Supple points out, had come to the United States in the late 1830s and early 1840s, usually in their late teens or early twenties, often single, with little money and practically no financial experience. And very few of them went straight to

<sup>14</sup>Norton B. Stern, ‘Towards a Biography of Isaias W. Hellman, Pioneer Builder of California’, *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. II/1, October 1969.

<sup>15</sup>W. M. Kramer and N. B. Stern, ‘A. Levy of the Bank. From Beans to Banks in Ventura County’, *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. VII/2, January 1975.

<sup>16</sup>Stephan Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, New York 1964.

<sup>17</sup>B. E. Supple, ‘A Business Élite. German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York’ *The Business History Review*, vol. XXXI, No. 3 (1957), pp. 141–178.

Wall Street. Most of them had started out as pedlars and petty tradesmen, gradually advancing to store-keeping and wholesaling and local "banking" before arriving there. And almost all, with few exceptions, had come from a very small corner of Europe: the South-West of Germany – the Munich–Frankfurt axis, one might say – and particularly the small villages of Bavaria. This veritable "explosion" of Jewish banking talent, this "group experience" seems to indicate the need for a more thorough socio-economic historical analysis.

## III

Civil and economic pressures, as mentioned previously, were apparently also the motivation for the move of most, though not all the future members of "Our Crowd" to the more promising shores of the New World. Their names and places of origin appear in the table below as listed by Supple<sup>18</sup> (with minor additions).

*German-Jewish Immigrants*

	Date of Entry	Age at Entry	Marital Status	Origin
Bache Semon	1845	under 20	Single	Bavaria (Mississippi store)
Belmont August	1837	21	"	Prussia (Alzey)
Goldman Marcus	1848	27	"	Bavaria (Pad./Store)
Guggenheim Meyer	1848	19	"	Switzerland
Hallgarten Lazarus	1849	?	Married	Hesse
Heidelbach Philip	Pre-1850	under 20	Single	Bavaria (Peddl. Ohio, Clothing, loc. bank)
Schalheimer Isaac	?	?	"	Frankfurt
Kuhn Abraham	1839	20	"	Bavaria
Lehman Henry	1844	22	?	Bavaria
" Emanuel	1847	20	Single	"
" Mayer	Pre-1848	20(?)	"	"
Lewisohn Leonard	1865	22	"	Hamburg
Loeb Salomon	1849	19 or 20	"	?
Sachs Joseph	1848	?	Married	Bavaria
Schiff Jacob	1865	18	Single	Frankfurt
Scholle William	1841	19	?	Bavaria
Seligman Joseph	1837	17	Single	"
" 7 brothers	1839–43	4–17	"	"
Speyer Philip	1837	23	"	Frankfurt
Straus Lazarus	1852	?	Married	Bavaria
Thalman Ernst	1868	17	Single	Rhenish Palatin.
Warburg Felix	1897	23	"	Hamburg
Wertheim Baruch	1850s	in 20s	"	Cassel
Kahn Otto Hermann	1893	26	"	Mannheim
Speyer Gustav	1845	?	?	Frankfurt

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

This migration resulted in the establishment of the following finance houses on Wall Street, many of which are still among the leading American investment bankers:

August Belmont & Co.	Hallgarten & Co.
James Speyer & Co.	Heidelberg, Jekelheimer & Co.
J. & W. Seligman & Co.	Asiel & Co.
Kuhn, Loeb & Co.	J. S. Bache & Co.
Goldmann, Sachs & Co.	Albert Loeb & Co. (later L. F. Rothschild & Co.)
Lehmann Bros.	Scholle Bros.
Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co.	Adolf Lewisohn & Sons

Not all of them had started as merchants. August Belmont, whose father Simon had been a merchant, moneylender and loan collector at Alzey in Southern Hesse,<sup>19</sup> had been sent by his employers, the Rothschilds, to New York to look after their interests there, and in due course set up his own most successful business, becoming a leading figure in New York society. (As it was believed that he had converted to Christianity, he was not included in *Our Crowd*.) The Speyers, too, came from an old-established Frankfurt banking family, which had branched out to London as well.

And then there was a second generation. While Abraham Kuhn and Salomon Loeb had started as merchants before becoming bankers, it was Jacob H. Schiff, scion of an ancient Frankfurt family, and trained in banking, who raised the house to its eminent position. And of his juniors, Otto Kahn and Felix Warburg, the latter was the son of the old Hamburg banking family. (We may mention here his brother Paul, who had been one of the fathers of the Federal Reserve system, and from 1914 to 1918 a member of its Board. In 1918 he became the founder and chairman of the International Acceptance Bank, in which he had Sir Ernest Cassel's support.)

As one contemporary source stated . . . "The fourteen greatest private banking firms in Wall Street in 1894 were of either German-Jewish or Yankee origin."<sup>20</sup> And nearly all these major investment houses prior to the First World War conducted a general banking business as well.

In more recent years, with Hitler's coming to power, the flow of banking talent into Wall Street was renewed, but was largely absorbed by the existing houses. An exception, perhaps, was the transfer from Berlin of the distinguished house of Arnhold & S. Bleichröder, which reopened in New York.

The foregoing pages do not claim to be more than a modest blueprint, a suggestion for the story still to be written, one hopes in the not too distant future, of the Jewish contribution to the evolution of American banking in general, and commercial banking in particular, within an all-embracing economic history of American Jewry, a field sadly neglected hitherto.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Rahel Liebeschütz, 'The Wind of Change'. Letters of Two Generations from the Biedermeier Period, in *LBI Year Book XII* (1967), pp. 227-256.

<sup>20</sup>V. P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, Harvard 1970, p. 26.



### C. *The Josephs of Michelstadt*

The study of Jewish entrepreneurial history is not an easy task. Rarely have family and business archives been preserved over several generations, and the few that had been so preserved were lost in the Holocaust. It is fortunate, therefore, that in some cases one may come across a pamphlet which a reverent son has dedicated to the memory of his parents and family which, incidentally, tells us something of their economic background and business life. And, if one is fortunate, one might find some other source, enabling one to follow the history of such a family into the more recent past or up to our own day.

It was, therefore, a lucky chance to find, in the catalogue of the National and University Library, Jerusalem, *Familie Abraham S. Joseph. Ein Denkblatt* by Leopold Joseph, published (in German), in London in 1912, sixty-five years ago. The name of the author sounded familiar. Not only is it listed in *The Banker's Almanack* as that of a firm of merchant bankers in London, but we remembered a small but excellent book by him on *The Evolution of German Banking*,<sup>1</sup> which can still hold its own today. And thus we were able to trace the story of three generations in the banking business on both sides of the Channel.

The story starts in ca. 1860 when Abraham Salomon Joseph (1827–1892) added a banking department to his wholesale business in grain, wool and cotton which he had gradually built up in his native Michelstadt, a small county-town in Hesse. He was a supplier of raw materials to the local industries, including some belonging to the noble family which had ruled the district in feudal days. It was at their suggestion that Joseph added banking to his business. Their complete confidence in him, sustained even after his later move to Frankfurt a. Main, recalls the unique relationship of trust between ruler and Jew which had made the preceding two centuries those of the Court Jew.

As in most other cases where banking started as an ancillary to another business, whether wine, grain or forwarding, the ancillary soon became the main business. Joseph eventually left the trading side to a relative and in 1874, looking for a larger field of activities, opened the office of A. S. Joseph in Frankfurt. The times, however, did not favour such a move. With the annexation of Frankfurt by Prussia in 1866 this once proud Free City gradually lost its importance as a financial centre to Berlin, since 1871 the capital of the new *Reich*. And the newly established large joint-stock banks started to squeeze out even the old-established family banks. Thus the success of the new house was only moderate. About 1890 the ageing A. S. Joseph retired from the management of the bank, leaving his wife's nephew and junior partner Arthur Abenheimer in charge. His son Leopold, who had worked in the bank from 1884 to 1887, joined him as a partner in 1891. But in view of the prospects, so unpromising for private banks, its liquidation was decided upon in 1895.

Abraham Salomon's oldest son, Salomon (1860–1899), the third of his seven children, who had proved a sound scholar at the *Gymnasium*, started his banking

<sup>1</sup>London 1912.



career in 1877 as an apprentice to the Frankfurt firm of A. L. Schwartzschild Söhne, where he soon became entrusted with responsible tasks. To gain wider experience he took employment in 1879 in the Parisian bank – Ancien Maison Leon & Dreher, but soon changed over to the Amsterdam house of Philipp Meyer. Finally, in 1882, he entered the service of the recently established Union Bank of Spain & England (1881–1897), in which, much appreciated by the London board, he achieved managerial rank in their Madrid office within two years. Rejecting attractive offers from other institutions, he stayed with the bank until 1894 when he retired for reasons of ill-health. His retirement, as his London directors predicted, meant the end of the bank, which, in fact, ceased operations a year later. Salomon himself died two years thereafter, only thirty-nine years old.

The next of Abraham Salomon's children, Leopold (1863–1943), the narrator of the family saga (which takes us to 1912), had worked in the paternal bank, on and off, from 1884 till its liquidation in 1895. A first visit to London, in 1887, seems to have determined his future course of action. While modestly reticent about himself in his story, which is dedicated to the deceased members of the family, we learn that in 1895, i.e., the year of the liquidation of A. S. Joseph, he joined Reuter's Bureau in London and since then had contributed articles on economic and financial subjects to numerous journals, in particular to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* – famous for its economic section – whose economic correspondent in London he was from 1896 to 1910. (A few samples of this literary production are appended to the pamphlet.)

Thus far his story, which we must now supplement from other sources. Paul H. Emden in his classic *Money Powers of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*<sup>2</sup> shows that Leopold Joseph's activities at Reuters were apparently not restricted to journalism and that his financial talents were given an equal chance. In this book we are told that:

“Amongst the many concessions which Reuter had acquired was one from Greece for the construction of a railway from the Piraeus to Larissa, which also lay dormant for a long time. Leopold Joseph, who had joined Reuter's in 1895, and is now the head of the highly respected merchant bankers, Leopold Joseph & Sons, saw a favourable opportunity for exploiting it in 1897 when the Graeco-Turkish War was over and the Bank of England, together with the Bank of France and the Bank of Russia made a loan to Greece at 2½ per cent. With the co-operation of Pauling & Co., who were closely associated with Erlanger's, the necessary funds were raised, and the railway was built. The proceeds of the Greek 4 per cent. Railway Loan of 1902–1904, offered by Hambros and Erlanger's at 83½, were used to reimburse the money advanced by Reuter's and by the banks.”<sup>3</sup>

Joseph left Reuters in the early years of this century to join the London office of the Swiss Bank Corporation as its manager, a position he held until 1917, when he started preparations for opening his own bank.

As for his bank, which Emden mentions as a house of respected merchant bankers, we now turn to *The Banker's Almanack*. Here we learn that the house of Leopold Joseph, merchant bankers, was established in London in 1919, changing the name to Leopold Joseph & Strauss in 1921, to L.J. & Sons in 1929 and

<sup>2</sup>London [1938].

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 402.

to Joseph (Leopold) & Sons Ltd. in 1956. Here three of his sons joined him, a fourth one became a member of the London Stock Exchange. But, since there was no succession, outside interests were brought in in 1963, and the Joseph brothers subsequently retired in 1966. On the board of this private company today we do not see any of the members of the family, apart from Karl Ernst Ruge (b. 1912), a grandson of Leopold's younger sister Mathilde, representing the fourth generation. (All the other names of the Company's officers are strictly Anglo-Saxon, except for Louis Heymann and Prince Rupert Loewenstein, a name familiar from the days of refugee rescue activities during the Hitler period.)

On another page of *The Banker's Almanack*, however, we discovered the names of two of Leopold's sons: Edward Walter Joseph, O.B.E. (b. 1909) as Managing Director, and Henry Oscar Joseph, O.B.E. (b. 1901), a noted philanthropist, as a member of the board of the Anglo-Israel Bank, now Bank Leumi of Israel (London) Ltd. They retired in 1972.